

## INTRODUCTION

THIS *Ājnāpatra* was first published in the Marathi Monthly *Vividhadyanavistāra* in 1875 and 1876. The original manuscript from which it was printed seems to have been lost. It was reprinted in the same Magazine in 1890 and 1891. It has been printed in a book form in 1923 and again in 1926. There are a few places in it which are quite unintelligible. They cannot be made intelligible without getting the original manuscript. It was issued on November 21, 1716, by Sambhaji of Kolhapur (1712-1760). Rāmachandrapant Amātya is responsible for the contents. The importance of the work is due to Rāmachandrapant's knowledge of Maratha state policy and the political events during the most important period of Maratha history from 1672 to 1717. He took part in the establishment of *Svarājya* under Sivāji, in its protection under Rājāram and Tārābai, and in the civil war between Tārābai and Shahu. His observations and personal experience of Maratha state policy are recorded in this *Ājnāpatra* or *Rājanīti*. It mainly relates to the methods and principles of Sivāji the Great. They were approved of as the best, and laid down as the standard to be followed. This *Ājnāpatra* consists of nine chapters relating to various aspects of state policy. It seems to have been written when Rājāram was alive (1700), but issued later in 1716 under Sambhaji's order.

## ITS CONTENTS

1. Troubles of the Kingdom during the War of Independence.
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(continued).
3. The General Principles of State Policy and Organization.
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9. Naval Policy.

## *JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY*

These headings to the various chapters are not in the original, but I have added them for an easy understanding of the contents of the various chapters.

Rāmachandra Nilkanṭha Amātya was born about 1650. His early life was spent with his father who was the Amātya of Sivāji till 1672. After his father's death the work was done by Rāmachandrapant. Thus he knew Sivāji's policy and methods quite intimately. During Rājāram's reign (1689-1700) he was one of the leading ministers of the state. He protected Mahārāṣṭra, fought against the Moguls while Rājāra was at Jinji in the south. He was given the title of *Hukumat Panha* or one who carried out the king's orders by Rājāram. After Rājāram's death he took a leading part in maintaining the vigour and courage of the people by exhorting them in such words 'now it is your duty to protect the kingdom. The whole reputation rests with you.' It was he who contributed to the success of the Marathas during Tārābai's regency. He was very honest, active, brave, industrious and well versed in political affairs.

According to G. S. Sardesai he was in favour of Shahu's return and rule over Mahārāṣṭra. But Tārābai threatened him and later persuaded him to join her side. Then he worked for her against Shahu. But Tārābai did not trust him completely. She once imprisoned him owing to suspicion, but again released him and conducted the administration through him. Later Tārābai and her son Sivāji were imprisoned, and Rājasbai and her son Sambhaji came to power in A.D. 1712 at Kolhapur and Rāmachandrapant helped them. He died in or about A.D. 1717. His *Rājantī* is one of the greatest literary legacies relating to the War of Maratha Independence and the principles of state policy which the great Sivāji laid down. It is for the first time translated here into English.

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# The Ajnapatra or Royal Edict

*Relating to the Principles of Maratha State Policy*

## CHAPTER I

### THE TROUBLES OF THE KINGDOM DURING THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

#### ROYAL ORDER

Hail Śrī, in the year forty-two of the Coronation Era, the *Samvatsar*<sup>1</sup> being Manmath by name, dated the fourth of the white half of Mārgaśīrsa, Thursday, His Majesty Śrīraja Śambhu<sup>2</sup> Chhatrapatī, an ornament to the race of Ksatriyas, ordered his minister Ramachandra Pandit Amātya, well-versed in all the affairs of the state, treasure of confidence, honoured by the king and adorned with the glory of the state, as follows :—

#### THE CONDITION OF THE KINGDOM AT THE TIME OF SAMBHAJI'S ACCESSION

When His Majesty<sup>3</sup> ascended the throne the desires of all were satisfied. The whole condition of the kingdom was thoroughly considered. Therein he found that, owing to the great calamity into which it had fallen, all the servants of the state, high and low, were distressed. Some did not know what to do about their maintenance and had become discouraged; some who had by their hereditary and loyal service acquired name and fame in the kingdom, had lost their courage, had abandoned completely their hereditary privileges and power, and had become dependent on others, some had taken to unjust ways of life, thinking that iniquitous (disloyal) methods were the only means of securing their subsistence; and the faith that this<sup>4</sup> was their only kingdom, and that kingdom had only one aim had completely disappeared.

<sup>1</sup> November 21, 1716.

<sup>2</sup> Sambhaji, the second son of Rajaram ruled at Kolhapur from A.D. 1712–1760. He was born in A.D. 1697

<sup>3</sup> Sambhaji.

<sup>4</sup> Svarājya, i.e. Mahārāṣṭra.

## SAMBHAJI'S POLICY

When such was the state of affairs, His Majesty pondered well over all this in his mind, and realizing that this kingdom<sup>1</sup> was exclusively a divine gift, and that it should increase and prosper was the great desire of God, and that, accordingly, He had willed that His Majesty should acquire the fame of augmenting the welfare of the kingdom, and remembering God with a firm and full faith, used, by the power of His Grace, his keen judgment in dealing with this disorganized state of affairs, conciliated those pious and hereditary state servants who were intelligent and well experienced, by adopting measures which would attract and hold them, and by gradually training their understanding made all of them devoted to and industrious in their work according to their abilities. Thus all the people got protection from the laws and regulations laid down by His Majesty, felt secure against small troubles as well as against great dangers such as those of foreign invasions, felt freed from anxiety about their wealth and fame acquired hereditarily, and, without bearing any other desire or design in mind, devoted themselves wholeheartedly to the cause of their sovereign.

## THE FAILURE OF AURANGZEB'S INVASION

This kingdom was invaded by a powerful foe in the person of Aurangzeb<sup>2</sup>. He used all his valour and all his resources in wealth and other things for the destruction and conquest of this kingdom. All his attempts, however, proved fruitless by the favour of God. The result was that he got tired in his efforts, turned back and died. But having had to fight with Aurangzeb who held sovereignty over fifty-four states, who had incomparable resources in army, territory and treasury, nay, who was well known on this earth as the Emperor of Delhi resembling another Lord of the world, and to defeat whom called for the utmost efforts, and not canvassed with little trouble, the people in the whole kingdom in consequence suffered heavily on account of the severe fighting between the contending parties.

## THE EFFECTS OF AURANGZEB'S INVASION

Many kinds of articles of merchandize could not be imported from various distant countries and islands. And many soldiers also,

<sup>1</sup> Svarājya, i.e. Mahārāstra.

<sup>2</sup> from A.D. 1682 to 1707.

who believed firmly that 'the servants whose lives are lost in the cause of their master attain that state which even the sages and yogis do not reach,' went to heaven whilst fighting in the cause of their master in accordance with the duties of Kṣātra.<sup>1</sup> Some having lost their armies got confounded in their valour and went over to the enemy. Some, seeing their master given up to vices like the enemy, usurped, with an idea of holding them independently, parts of territories and forts which had been made over to their possession by the king in his blindness caused by the darkness of his wicked understanding. In various places persons, rising like the crescent moon owing to the weakness of government, began to quarrel against one another. During these adverse times minor chiefs such as Shyāmalas<sup>2</sup> got their opportunity and became firmly rooted. The remaining parts of the country became desolate, and forts got exhausted of military provisions. Only the idea of the state remained.

#### SIVĀJI THE GREAT CREATED THE KINGDOM. HIS WORK

If one were to ponder over this situation, each one of the events was the cause of a sure calamity. God however favoured this kingdom and its ruler. Moreover His great desire was that this kingdom should increase and prosper like the new crescent moon day by day. Accordingly in this respectable and noble family His Majesty<sup>3</sup> has been born. With what great daring and with what great valour the late, revered and honoured, great king,<sup>4</sup> the founder of a new era,<sup>5</sup> created this kingdom ! And we having been born in his family, such should be the disorganized condition of the kingdom ! This state of things was greatly undesirable. Hence with this purpose in view we thought over all the efforts made by the late, revered and honoured, great king,<sup>6</sup> in the following way when the late, revered and esteemed great king<sup>7</sup> the founder of a new era,<sup>8</sup> the protector of the royal umbrella was living under the rule of the Yavanas,<sup>9</sup> he

<sup>1</sup> The warrior class.

<sup>2</sup> Siddis of Janjira on the west coast of India in the Konkan. They were Abyssinians expert in naval warfare.

<sup>3</sup> Sambhaji of Kolhapur mentioned above.

<sup>4</sup> Sivaji (1630-1680)

<sup>5</sup> Rājāsaka or the Coronation era starting from A.D. 1674, i.e. Sivaji's Coronation.

<sup>6</sup> Sivaji (1630-1680).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Muslim rulers of the Deccan, the Adilshahs of Bijapur.

received from them the small tracts (खास्ता) of Poona and other parts<sup>1</sup> as an independent jagir, and from the age of fifteen<sup>2</sup> endeavoured (for his object) with (the resources of) the same small territory. Believing firmly the saying, 'The allotted span of life protects the vital parts; the allotted span of life gives food. This is the opinion of Gāṇḍivīn (Arjuna) whence is feebleness? Whence is fear?', and similarly the saying, 'the goddess of wealth goes to an industrious and lionlike brave man,' and not caring for his bodily health he performed personally superhuman deeds which were not done until then and which in future would not be even conceived in mind by any one.

#### SIVĀJĪ'S POLICY AND ACHIEVEMENT

Possessing the power of judging the character and ability of men he appointed quite new servants, and increasing their burden of work according to their abilities showed how to make them fit for works of great importance. Even though each one was irreconcilable with the other, he, by the influence of his own power, by showing kindness to all, by not allowing one to insult the other and inducing them all to work together, made them do their master's work. In the South, Adilshahī,<sup>3</sup> Kutubshahī,<sup>4</sup> and Nizamshahī<sup>5</sup> were the brave, great and, in every way prosperous, states; similarly there were the Moguls<sup>6</sup> who possessed provinces, every one of which could support one lakh of soldiers. Besides these, there were Shyamalas,<sup>7</sup> Firangis,<sup>8</sup> Ingīraj,<sup>9</sup> Valandej,<sup>10</sup> chiefs of Rām-nagar,<sup>11</sup> Palegars,<sup>12</sup> the chiefs of Sonde, Bednore, Mysore and Trichinopoly and other places :

<sup>1</sup> Supa, Shirwal, etc. This jagir was formerly held under Nizamshahs of Ahmadnagar.

<sup>2</sup> A.D. 1645

<sup>3</sup> Adilshahī of Bijapur (1489-1686)

<sup>4</sup> Kutubshahī of Golkonda (1512-1687)

<sup>5</sup> Nizamshahī of Ahmednagar (1489-1637).

<sup>6</sup> Emperors of Delhi

<sup>7</sup> Siddis of Janjira.

<sup>8</sup> Portuguese of Goa

<sup>9</sup> English of Surat and later Bombay.

<sup>10</sup> Dutch.

<sup>11</sup> Kolī Rajas of the smaller state of Ramnagar in North Konkan.

<sup>12</sup> New rebel chiefs who levied contributions and made loot, keeping themselves secure in their woods and fastnesses.

similarly there were rebels in various parts, namely, Chandraraos,<sup>1</sup> Shirkes,<sup>2</sup> Savants,<sup>3</sup> Dalvis,<sup>4</sup> Nimbalkars<sup>5</sup> above the Ghats, Ghatges,<sup>6</sup> and other deshmukhs<sup>7</sup> and Kāṭaks<sup>8</sup> (काटक<sup>३</sup>). Though they were all brave, ready to fight, and fully equipped, he, by the force of his own intellect and ability and without being afraid of any one subdued some by marching against them and fighting fierce battles with them. Upon some he made sudden attacks. Amongst some he fomented mutual quarrels. Between some he caused breaches of friendship. By entering the tents of some he fought with them. By personal venture he defeated some in single combats. With some he made alliances. Of his own accord he went to visit some. Some he forced to come and visit him. He imperilled (the lives of) some by creating mutual disunion. Others he conquered one after another by making other kinds of efforts without their knowledge and by erecting forcibly fortified places in their country. He defeated those who were possessed of sea-forts by erecting even new sea-forts. He entered inaccessible places from the sea. In this manner he subdued every enemy in the way in which he should be conquered, and created and acquired a Kingdom free from thorns (enemies) and extending from Salheri-Ahiwant<sup>9</sup> to Chanji<sup>10</sup> and the banks of the Kaveri, and he also acquired hundreds of hill-forts as well as sea-forts, several great places, forty thousand state cavalry and sixty to seventy thousand silledars,<sup>11</sup> two lakhs of foot soldiers, innumerable treasures, similarly the best jewellery and all kinds of articles. He regenerated the Marathas of the ninety-six noble families.<sup>12</sup> Having ascended the throne he

<sup>1</sup> Mores of Javalī whom Sīvājī destroyed in A D 1655.

<sup>2</sup> Shirkes, formerly of Javalī, later of Singarpur in Konkan in the south.

<sup>3</sup> Savants of Savantawadi were in charge of Southern Konkan

<sup>4</sup> Dalvis of Konkan

<sup>5</sup> Nimbalkars of Phaltan near Baramati

<sup>6</sup> Ghatges were old nobles on the west country.

<sup>7</sup> Officers of the chief sub-divisions of a territory

<sup>8</sup> Having regard to what follows this must be regarded as the Kādava, the Dravida country dependent on Kānchi *Ed*

<sup>9</sup> Forts in the North Konkan

<sup>10</sup> The fortress of Jinji near Madras

<sup>11</sup> Horse-soldiers who provide their own horses and equipment, as against Bargirs who are supplied these by the state.

<sup>12</sup> The traditionally recognized number of the old noble families of the Marathas—the warrior caste.

held the royal umbrella and called himself *Chhatrapati*.<sup>1</sup> He rescued the *Dharma*, established Gods and Brāhmanas in their due places and maintained the six-fold duties of sacrifice, officiating at sacrifice and others (study and teaching, giving and receiving gifts) according to the division of the (four) *varnas* (castes). He destroyed the existence of thieves and other criminals in the Kingdom. He created a new type of administration for his territories, forts and armies, and conducted the government without hindrance and brought it under one system of co-ordination and control. He created wholly a new order of things. He forced Aurangzeb to immerse in a sea of agony and sorrow and acquired for himself a world-wide well-acknowledged fame. That is this kingdom.

## CHAPTER II

### THE TROUBLES OF THE KINGDOM DURING THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE—(continued)

#### THE CONDITION OF THE KINGDOM DURING RĀJĀRAM'S TIME

After the death of the revered and noble great king<sup>2</sup> the founder of a new era, his son<sup>3</sup> the late revered and noble great king made uncommon efforts and performed feats of daring. When Aurangzeb invaded the country, he killed in battle several of his chief soldiers, made some of them bereft of pride and turned them back in retreat; made some submit and released the princes (शाहाजादे ?) and others. After that, on account of the force of his merits, the chief enemy<sup>4</sup> acted very obstinately, did not care to consider what was a proper or improper cause, and making strenuous efforts personally, got humiliated at various places and thus ended his career.<sup>5</sup> But owing to the warfare the kingdom had fallen into a bad state. All the country and forts had been captured. The name alone of the kingdom had remained and that also was not confined to any limits. The people of the kingdom, the mainstay of the life of the state, having fallen into such adverse times, had suffered heavily under the pressure of several small troubles. It was the very kingdom, the administration of which was such that it had become an example and support in the policy of the

<sup>1</sup> The protector with the royal umbrella—an emblem of sovereignty.

<sup>2</sup> Sivaji.

<sup>3</sup> Rājāram.

<sup>4</sup> Aurangzeb.

<sup>5</sup> A. D. 1707.



Government of their own countries to other rulers and all feudatory Governors, and also such that all should learn the policy, the purpose and the laws of state from it. In these spheres of authority which should not be controlled even in the slightest degree by others than the sovereign power, there had developed more and more control other than that of the (central) political authority. Nay, on account of this, even the control of the political authority over them had disappeared. Some parts had become unprotected.

#### RĀJĀRAM'S WORK AND POLICY

Therefore thinking that if the state were first well-organized, other objects would become easily successful, he conciliated the chief ministers, sardars (nobles) and other servants, high and low, of the kingdom by bestowing upon them great honour in a proper way. Having found several new servants able and experienced in work he raised them to high positions. Attracting the hearts of all, and not allowing them to hate one another, he encouraged them to work for the state properly and in due rank. He kept within the limits of law those who were unrestrained and hostile by punishing them justly, thereby making them friendly and well-disposed. He reduced those to dust who were excessively self-willed and mischievous and who if neglected would become of an iniquitous (disloyal) disposition of mind. By assuring protection to all the people he freed them from troubles. The country was made peaceful and tranquil.

#### HUJURĀT

The chief body of royal troops (हुजुरात) which was the main support in the protection of the armed forces of the country and of the forts, had become totally disorganized, and its name alone remained. It was reorganized and well-equipped by the appointment of very brave, trustworthy and obedient persons as horse-soldiers (लखर), foot soldiers (हशम), matchlock firers (बंदुकी), archers (तिरंदास) and others, and also by providing military necessities and equipments.

#### FORTS

Having started the building anew of all unfinished forts and ramparts, and provisioning them with corn, ammunition, arrows,

grenades, guns and other necessities he fully equipped all the territories and forts.

### CAVALRY AND INFANTRY

He settled properly the discipline of the cavalry (पगल) and infantry (हशम) of the kingdom which had fallen into disorder and strengthened the cavalry by enlisting strong Arabi, Ilākhi (Irākī), Tāji (Arabi<sup>1</sup>) and Kachchhi horses, good accoutrements and men famed for efficiency in shooting. He gathered together the infantry by collecting Māvales,<sup>2</sup> Adāvas,<sup>3</sup> Itekarts,<sup>4</sup> Pattaits,<sup>5</sup> Bankaits,<sup>6</sup> and also, Bandukis,<sup>7</sup> Tursandajs,<sup>8</sup> Kānaḍes,<sup>9</sup> Torsāli,<sup>10</sup> and Jāngade,<sup>11</sup> Bandukis, and Tirandajs.<sup>12</sup>

### ARTILLERY

He made fit and ready the moving artillery (तोफखाना) by collecting Rāmchāngyas,<sup>13</sup> Durāvyas,<sup>14</sup> Phīlnāls,<sup>15</sup> Sutarnāls<sup>16</sup> and also guns (भाङ्गे) placed on big carts and artillery men (करोळ). The kingdom was made prosperous and kept well protected.

### SIDDIS

Further with a view to bring under his control this Kingdom by his valour he thought of subduing first the adjoining enemy who was like a disease in the stomach. The Shyāmalas (Siddis) were truly the cause of harm to the state. They were the means of fulfilling the

<sup>1</sup> This must be Tājka (Central Asian.) *Ed*

<sup>2</sup> Footsoldiers from Maval territory.

<sup>3</sup> Those armed with inferior and irregular weapons, light armed men.

<sup>4</sup> Those footsoldiers who used a Barchi or spear, spearmen

<sup>5</sup> Those footsoldiers who use Patta, and which is a long and straight rapier swordsmen.

<sup>6</sup> Guards of the king's tents, camp-guards

<sup>7</sup> Matchlock-firers.

<sup>8</sup> तुरसंदाज or musketeers.

<sup>9</sup> Footsoldiers from Karnāṭaka.

<sup>10</sup> तोरमाळो.

<sup>11</sup> ? जांगडे.

<sup>12</sup> Archers.

<sup>13</sup> Small cannons.

<sup>14</sup> Long-range guns.

<sup>15</sup> Guns carried on elephants

<sup>16</sup> Guns carried on camels,

evil designs of the lord of the Yavanas.<sup>1</sup> On account of the Shyāmalas the successes of the chief enemy were at first great, nay during the adverse times the Shyāmalas conquered several territories and forts. Even the chief place Raigad<sup>1</sup> which was the seat of the throne was captured by them. Having caused troubles to Brahmanas and all other people they forcibly converted them. To neglect an enemy of such a type, to put off till to-morrow what can be done to-day, would be very improper, and then the enemy would become unconquerable to His Majesty and would be provoked to attack being backed by the Tāmras.<sup>2</sup> At first the late revered great king,<sup>3</sup> the ornament of the state, checked the Shyāmalas. On that occasion the Shyāmalas were supported by the Tamras<sup>4</sup> and therefore the Shyāmalas remained as a power. Otherwise what was there to make the Shyāmalas exist in spite of his efforts. A place or country when invaded by others continues to exist with outside help. Therefore at first that help should be cut off. Then efforts should be made against (to attack) it directly. This is the (proper) policy. For this purpose the jagir territory of the Shyāmalas, namely, Nandurbar<sup>5</sup> and other places, was completely destroyed. And having created enmity between them and the Tāmras (Moguls) he<sup>6</sup> cut off their only possible help and then attacked them. With a naval force by sea and an army by land, the Shyāmalas were invaded on all sides, and without allowing any respite their places were captured, and by conquering with a determination Rajapurī and other old habitations, Shyāmalas were completely effaced.<sup>7</sup>

#### OTHER FOES AND REBELS

Immediately after this the Sāvants<sup>8</sup> and others who had become a standing danger to the kingdom were destroyed. The remaining watandars and others who had become powerful by building independent fortified places became frightened, abandoned their places and came and submitted themselves; and he kept them under control as before by his strong rule. Having punished Mysorean and other

<sup>1</sup> Raigad was captured in A.D. 1690 by the Moguls with the help of Siddis.

<sup>2</sup> Moguls

<sup>3</sup> Sivājī.

<sup>4</sup> Moguls.

<sup>5</sup> Rājāram's forces attacked it in A.D. 1698.

<sup>6</sup> Sivājī or Rājāram.

<sup>7</sup> In 1661, 1670, 1674, if during Rājāram's time it would be in A.D. 1698-99?

<sup>8</sup> In 1662, if in Rājāram's time it would be in 1698-99.

palegars he held them down under a system of annual tribute. Thus the kingdom became free from thorns.

### RAJARAM'S AIM AND STRUGGLE

After achieving so much success by favour of God he divulged his inmost object of conquering the country occupied by the Yāvanas of destroying the Yāvana confederacy and of beating down the Yāvana predominance which had taken root in the East, West and South by sending large armies. The lost kingdom from (the forts of) Salheri (and) Ahivant up to Chanji (and) Kaveri banks was fully reoccupied. His Majesty personally invaded the great old places of Bijapur, Bhāgānagar (Bhāgnagar or Haidarabad) and others, defeated the generals and the armies of the Yāvanas and brought under his control those places along with the territories and forts. Immediately after this he marched against Aurangabad and Burhanpur which were the headquarters of the army of the Lord of the Yāvanas. A vast army entered the field against him.<sup>1</sup> Fierce battles took place, Yāvanas abandoning the hope of life showed in desperation enormous courage. However God's great desire was that their destruction should take place and His Majesty's glory of success should increase in strength. Accordingly the whole of the Yāvana's army being destroyed like locusts by the fire of His Majesty's valour was (completely) defeated. Many soldiers died, many retreated, and others were captured. All the goods and wealth attached to horses, elephants and others fell into his hands. All the places in that part such as Aurangabad, Burhanpur and others were captured and were then decorated by planting His Majesty's flags of victory. (Thus) His Majesty's kingdom stretching from Narmada to Rameshwar became free from thorns.<sup>2</sup>

### HIS FURTHER RESOLVE

This object just as it was conceived in the mind of His Majesty was carried out on account of God's extreme kindness and your<sup>3</sup> efforts. His Majesty who was well versed in the affairs of the

<sup>1</sup> The chronology of these events and their occurrence are not established and are doubtful. The period referred to must be the years A.D. 1698-1700.

<sup>2</sup> The account seems to refer to Rājāram's campaigns and successes in Khandesh, Berar, Baglana and Gangathadi against the Moguls in A.D. 1698-1700.

<sup>3</sup> Rāmachandrapant Amatya.

Hindu kingdom and who was the creator of the growth and prosperity of the state became successful with the personal efforts of you people. You servants of the state accomplished your tasks. But if one were to remain contented only with the work done, or with the praiseworthiness of the actions performed, further work would suffer. The chief enemy being afraid of our power has got perturbed. (If we remain silent) he, after recovering his strength, would collect his army and strengthen his territories and forts, and by subduing all the feudatories of these provinces by force (or) by policy would gather together the armies of all countries, give full protection to his own country and march on to the banks of the Narmada. Therefore it would become necessary for us to fight. The whole of Hindustan would remain undisturbed, and the new country conquered by His Majesty would become a theatre of war. This is not a policy of foresight.

#### HIS AIM IN INVADING NORTHERN INDIA

The enemy has got frightened through of us dread which has fallen on him. All the feudatories have adopted a wavering attitude. Under these circumstances His Majesty<sup>1</sup> firmly determined that, not allowing respite to the enemy, he should go and defeat him with his army, and therefore made to gather together the Rajputs of all provinces. On an auspicious occasion he crossed the Narmada.<sup>2</sup> While, by favour of God, within a short time he will defeat the chief enemy, subdue all the territories and forts about Delhi, Agra, Lahore, Dacca, Bengal, Tattha and maritime and other places, and go to Benares and establish the idol of Kaśi Viśveśvara. Till then the revered Queen Mother,<sup>3</sup> the one celebrated and holy amongst all the holies will have to stay in the southern provinces for the protection of the south. With her has been kept the young prince<sup>4</sup> of long life, dearer than life itself, and an ornament to the kingdom. You have been kept to serve both of them.

<sup>1</sup> Rājāram. He could not carry out his objects. He died in March, A.D. 1700.

<sup>2</sup> This may refer to the year A.D. 1699 or 1700.

<sup>3</sup> Rājasbai, the wife of Rājāram.

<sup>4</sup> Sambhaji, Rājasbai's son, born in A.D. 1697, established the State of Kolhapur.

## THE NEED OF ENUNCIATING PRINCIPLES OF STATE POLICY

So His Majesty<sup>1</sup> does not recognize any God, in body, speech and thought, other than the feet of his revered mother. This kingdom,<sup>2</sup> this acquisition of fame, and the future success, are all due to her favour and blessings. There is no other desire in the mind of His Majesty than to obey her wishes and to please her mind. You<sup>3</sup> must have already known this incomparable devotion of His Majesty.<sup>4</sup> Accordingly you should consider well in mind all this purpose, and obeying her wishes should act in such a way that the revered Queen Mother<sup>5</sup> should remain pleased with His Majesty<sup>6</sup> day by day. You are an able and experienced servant. When the late revered and esteemed Majesty<sup>7</sup> had gone to Karnāṭaka,<sup>8</sup> you increased the prosperity of the kingdom, the administration of which was entrusted to you; you understand political affairs, policy and laws well. However in order that princes of long life, ornaments to the kingdom, should be well-versed in political affairs and that other governors and criminal officers in various parts of the country should protect the state by conducting themselves according to principles of good government, His Majesty<sup>9</sup> has therefore prepared a treatise on the principles of state policy in the form of this Royal Edict<sup>10</sup> in accordance with the *Śāstras*. Remembering it fully in mind you should see that princes of long life are educated according to its principles. Similarly, the kingdom should be protected by making all the people perform their duties in consonance with it and according to the functions allotted to them.

## CHAPTER III

## THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF STATE POLICY AND ORGANIZATION

## THE ORIGIN OF KINGSHIP

The whole world is created by God. God is the ruler of all. He first created kings in this world. Amongst the people every

<sup>1</sup> Sambhaji.<sup>2</sup> Svarajya or only the Kolhapur State?<sup>3</sup> Rāmachandrapant Amatya.<sup>4</sup> Sambhaji.<sup>5</sup> Rājasbai.<sup>6</sup> Sambhaji.<sup>7</sup> Rājāram.<sup>8</sup> To Jinji. Rāmachandra was in charge of the Maratha kingdom and fought for it against Aurangzeb.<sup>9</sup> Sambhaji.<sup>10</sup> Sambhaji was nineteen years of age when he issued the Royal Edict (1716). He began to rule at Kolhapur in A.D. 1712.

individual is one but the temperaments of many differ. Therefore if they have no protector who would make for them one common law they would quarrel and fight with one another and be destroyed. This should not happen. All the people should be free from trouble and should follow the path of *Dharma*. Out of compassion for the people God in his full favour has granted us this kingdom.

#### PRIVATE FUNCTIONS OF THE KING

Realizing in mind fully the fear that, if this command of God is disobeyed God's anger will fall on him, a ruler without ascending the throne but keeping himself vigilant and restrained should be ready all the time to look after the welfare of the people. Similarly, believing firmly that his gains and losses are in the hands of God and that they cannot be altered by any one, and supplicating God for protection all the time, not becoming dependent on others internally and not disregarding the service of his servants, he should act with unswerving justice by attracting the minds of servants to himself according to rank and by adopting proper methods. He should follow that *Dharma* which is traditionally the best and which his ancestors had followed, and should do that by which fame is acquired. He should have great fear of bad reputation in all undertakings. Kings who lived in the past succeeded in this world and acquired the next with the help of *Dharma*. Believing with a firm confidence that the practice of *Dharma*, the worship of God, the acquisition of the favour of saintly persons, the attainment of the welfare of all, and the prosperity of the dynasty of the kingdom should be uninterrupted and regulated, he should settle grants according to their special religious merit on temples of Gods, places of pilgrimage, holy centres of religion, hermitages of saints and places of *samādhi*,<sup>1</sup> so that the daily ablution of water, worship, offerings, annual pilgrimages (and) great festivals may be well performed; and he should continue them uninterruptedly by making frequent kindly inquiries. Showing great devotion to Brahmanas, *Vaidikas*,<sup>2</sup> those versed in *Sastras*, those free from desire and worldly ties, those subsisting on alms but without begging, those living in forests, those practising austerity and holy men, and pro-

<sup>1</sup> Places where the remains of holy men lie enshrined. *Ed*

<sup>2</sup> Followers of the path of the Veda—the ritual practices and other prescribed acts of daily life. *Ed*,

viding for their maintenance being carried to wherever they are, and satisfying them in all ways, he should acquire blessings for the increase of his welfare. He should not put faith, however, in those persons who assume disguises, fakirs, yogis, jagams and others who practise merely sorcery and wander about, and without trusting them, he should through his servants send them away after giving them a few alms. Heretic opinions which are against *Dharma* should in no way be allowed to prevail. If anywhere any heresy were to rise then he should by (making) personal inquiry punish it duly so that no one would follow that wicked path. He should also destroy it, not associating himself with those practising austerities and those of irritable temperament, and inquiring about them from a distance he should see that they live contented and give blessings. Holding universal compassion towards the blind, the crippled, the diseased, the helpless and those without any means of subsistence, he should arrange for their means of livelihood so long as they live.

#### PERSONAL PROTECTION AND PRIVATE SERVANTS

Except in case of mortal fight kings should always be very careful at least about their personal protection. After careful inquiry those persons who are very trustworthy, hereditarily in service, honest and not greedy should be appointed in kitchens, places of water and fruits, dressing-rooms and other important royal household departments (महल), as also in other public royal establishments (कारखाने). By taking work from those according to the functions allotted to them and by treating all with equal regard by virtue of his authority, he should keep them contented and look after them so that none of them would feel any want about their maintenance. Everything should be done which would keep them ready and pleased in his service. If any doubt is felt at some time or other about their conduct, an immediate inquiry should be made in accordance with justice. Whatever makes them engage in work undoubtedly with an open mind should be done. If a doubt against a servant cannot be removed he should be positively dismissed (from that work) and given other work. If he deserves punishment then he should be punished. This matter should not be neglected. Similarly those servants who are to be kept near himself should be judged as to whether they are very trustworthy and intelligent, act after knowing their master's



purpose, understand the signs of his internal thoughts, and are brave, of agreeable appearance, with auspicious marks and are not zealous, cruel, self-willed and of wicked disposition; and then they should be employed. They should be treated cordially and with kind regard, and whatever makes them live loyally and devotedly without caring for any other master but himself, should be done. They should be paid well so that they should not find it necessary to look to others for their maintenance. They should be made to observe a certain amount of discipline so that they do not get accustomed to going to other's houses without permission, to speaking out secrets, and similarly to committing any wrong against others out of any sudden impulse whilst they are near their master, to insulting high officials and to carrying tales about any one. From amongst them every one should be promoted and encouraged according to the measure or importance of his work.

#### PERSONAL ROUTINE AND DISCIPLINE

He should fix his times for meals and water-drinking and should not change them. Intoxicating drugs should never be taken, and those people who remain near him should not be allowed to taste them. When he is without arms he should not keep looking down all the time. He should acquire knowledge and skill in all kinds of arms and should always increase it by practice. Exercise in elephant and horse-riding should never be neglected. All the methods of making new arrows, bows, matchlocks and other arms, of filling rockets, of casting cannon, of laying mines and mounting batteries, and similarly, all the arts of making strong saddles, harness, armour, and other equipment should be well known. In this way after appreciating the merit of every one according to the efforts made by him, he should be duly rewarded. Otherwise if he be given less, the fault of want of appreciation would fall to his credit; and if he be given more, carelessness would be attributed to him; but when he knows the real nature of work, both these faults would not occur. For this purpose the above is written. Skill in all arts and crafts should be necessarily acquired. But those industries which require exertion should not be personally worked at. For, while one is engaged in these occupations, or if any bodily disease is caused by them, state affairs would get neglected,

## ENTERTAINMENTS

The chief function of the king is the effective supervision of state affairs. There should be no break in this. Except on the occasion of great festivals, no dancing and music of professionals, army-musicians (धाडो)<sup>1</sup> and others (निजग्रहो?) should be performed regularly in the royal court. During great festivals dancing, music and other entertainments should not be held at the place where the king sits but amongst the people who are assembled outside. The king should not himself hear or see it. For as long as his mind does not get attached to them, it is well. Once it gets attached to any of these, it cannot be withdrawn from the object of attachment even if desired. Then the bad habit holds him and the affairs of the state get neglected. Nay, owing to its influence some more evils also occur. For this reason this tendency should not be allowed to grow.

## COURT POETS

Poets spread fame. Their verses and good sayings last eternally because of their poetic merit. For this purpose after seeing that, they are deserving, versed in Śāstras, honest and possessing no vice, they should be gathered (at the court) according to his means, and after maintaining them properly and very respectfully it should be seen that they live contented and devoted to their work. But (hearing) only self-praise is a very great fault. For this purpose, one should not get wholly absorbed in their company by neglecting state affairs.

## BARDS

Similarly bards were maintained by former kings in royal courts and during royal tour. For this purpose a few persons gifted as bards should be gathered after personally finding their worth. But these people should not be invited at the time of conducting state affairs. For if there were present persons (other than the ministers) who have no concern with the administration, the work of administration would suffer because ministers who have to speak openly about state affairs and act secretly would feel constrained in their consultations. For this purpose other people should not be allowed to take part in deliberations of state.

<sup>1</sup> A class of Muhamradan singers who may be retainers of kings or great men and precede on march and chant praise.

## JESTING

Kings should not at all indulge in the habit of making jokes. Friends are after all servants. If jesting be done with them, there would remain no limit to it. Consequently it would sometimes happen that he passes the limits of propriety and causes the lowering of his own dignity. Sometimes it would result in their death by provoking his anger. Therefore there should be no tendency towards jesting and he should not feel false delight in his mind about his own sagacity (in this matter).

## CONSULTATION

He should examine in his own mind, the merits and demerits of the work which is to be done. Those who are intelligent in the work to be done should be asked their opinion about it. Whatever leads to the success of the work undertaken should be done by accepting the best possible advice given. If he insists on his own plan, his servants would not at all speak out the merits and defects of the work proposed. Hence the intelligence and initiative of servants does not get full scope for development, but rather they get atrophied and the work gets spoilt. Similarly if he regards the glory which he has achieved as satisfactory, then he does not feel inclined for further exertion. As a result the enemy would find the occasion for an invasion and the kingdom would suffer. This should not be allowed to happen. While protecting what is already acquired, new achievements should always be attempted, and this should continuously remain the aim of the king.

## FINANCIAL POLICY

After considering the income and expenditure, whatever helps the growth of treasury in the kingdom should be done. Finance is the life of the state. In times of need if there is money all the perils are averted. Therefore with this aim in view the state treasury should be filled. It should be well looked after. Servants should be paid well and without any reluctance. If any special work is done by them or if they are burdened with a family they should be given something (in addition) by way of gifts. But any more salary than what is attached to an office should not be paid for any special work done in the same office. The reason is that if any one's salary is increased, other servants of the same rank ask for an additional salary, and if not paid

they get discontented. If any one's salary is increased owing to his influence, the salaries of all others who are of the same rank will have to be increased because they are all similar to one another. Then the whole organization will break down. This would not be a proper thing. Therefore there should not at all be any alteration in the remuneration attached to any work. If able men do any meritorious work they should be promoted to a higher rank and thus encouraged. This makes men hopeful. If rewards are given for any special work, others cannot put obstacles in the way. Secondly, when a reward is given to one servant, other servants have no grounds to ask for rewards as they have for getting discontented when any one's salary is increased. And holding the hope that the master gives rewards according to work done, other servants without caring for their lives strive personally (very hard) for their master's work. For this reason salary should be paid according to rules, and rewards should be given according to special work done. But where salary is fixed, no change should at all be made.

### MILITARY POLICY

#### ROYAL TROOPS

Royal troops are (हजुरात) the means of showing one's own bravery and valour and are the prime support in the protection of the army, territory and forts. Those kings and generals who are already dead and those who are living at present first created a body of royal troops, and by achieving gradual success with its strength collected large forces and acquired territory and treasury, and with its fame kept all of them obedient and in order. Those who do not possess a strong body of royal troops are dependent on others. They cannot take up any work by themselves. For that reason they have to become dependent on servants, and whatever they say has to be quietly borne. If not, the servants and sardars would not sincerely perform the work undertaken and therefore the work is ruined. Under these circumstances how can the kingdom grow? Therefore he who is himself industrious and brave and who entertains the idea of always gaining new acquisitions should first create a body of royal troops. He should keep a five-fold force of cavalry,<sup>1</sup> foot-soldiers<sup>2</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> कष्कर.

<sup>2</sup> हशम.

light armed men,<sup>1</sup> musketeers,<sup>2</sup> archers,<sup>3</sup> and artillery men.<sup>4</sup> Those persons should be employed in the body of royal troops who are very brave, powerful, select, thoroughly obedient, and the very mention of whose name will extort admiration in the army and the country, and who on occasion will inspire terror. Those who are capricious, arrogant, unrestrained, childish, vicious, defaming, vilifying and have acted treacherously towards their previous master should not at all be kept in the body of royal troops. For on the strength and assurance of the royal army one can remain free from anxiety about all matters. At times life has to be hazarded. Other soldiers have to be kept, within bounds. If this method of organization is kept up all these things are easily attainable, otherwise not. If there is any inefficiency, punishment has to be inflicted, consequently other fellow-soldiers may get pained, and, if they rise in arms, men engaged in other useful work will have to be sent against them, and they will get wounded, nay, they may even rise against the king. Therefore men of such bad character should not at all be engaged in the body of royal troops. It is not that men of good character are easily available at any time. Therefore while touring round in the country, in the army and in the small and big forts, the king should have an eye for proper men, and associating with him, in addition to his ministers, the best men wherever available, showing kindness to them and finding their worth, he should employ them in his body of royal troops. This group of men should be trusted day and night with the work of guards at the gates of the royal residence and court, and thus should their presence and work be noted and examined from day to day. If any one of them were to remain absent even once, then he should be warned. After that if he again commits the same mistake, he should be scolded and asked to become careful. In spite of all this if he does not keep watch and ward according to the terms of his appointment, then he should be positively removed. If he commits any wrong deserving of punishment, he should be immediately punished. There should be no weakness shown out of any consideration. If discipline is at all absent in the king's own troops, then how can it be expected to prevail outside. Therefore there should not at all be any indiscipline in his own troops. Whatever

<sup>1</sup> आडाव.<sup>2</sup> बंदुकी.<sup>3</sup> तिरंदाजी.<sup>4</sup> करोल.

salary is fixed for them must be given without fail. The payment of their salaries should not be entrusted to others, but should be done under his own supervision through a devoted *sabnis* (सबनोस)<sup>1</sup> who is not influenced by any consideration. By showing kindness and by appreciative treatment these men should be completely brought under his own loving influence. Of all the other forces and departments, the body of royal troops should be kept contented and efficient. And if they are seduced from allegiance by any one, it should be seen to that they do not get any protection elsewhere. If they are at all seduced, they should be made to realize that punishment would be strictly meted out to them. It should, however, be provided that they do not join in any defection. A king should keep himself strong by equipping himself well with swords (तरवार), daggers (कठारा), scimitars (जमदाडा), straight rapiers (पट्ट), spears (भाले), daggers (बाक), poniards (बिचवे), spears with a string (सैया), bombs (टाकण्या), bows and arrows (तिरकमाना), matchlocks (बंदुको) and other weapons, coats of mail (बखतरे), head-armour (घुंग्या), helmets (टोप), cloth-covers (दुपट्टे), body-armours (चलखते), armours for horses and elephants (पाखरा), helmets (ताज), grenades (हुके), ammunition (दारुगोळी), rockets (बाण) and other provisions. If he is always possessed of the above-mentioned troops of men and munitions and is personally industrious, then what deficiency in equipment is possible? When the nobles and troops of the kingdom obey orders, then the king feels enthusiasm for every sort of work. Being freed from anxiety about self-protection the mind of the king works in solving other problems. Whatever he does at any time results in a favourable way. Without being influenced by others the administration goes on uninterrupted. The fame of the king's valour and efforts increases. All the enemies and others feeling awe of him remain where they are. Therefore without neglecting the efficient maintenance of the body of royal troops, and considering that it is the most important of all the aspects of state administration and without admitting *Siladars*<sup>2</sup> into the body of royal troops he should organize it as mentioned above.

<sup>1</sup> A *sabnis* was in charge of accounts in general and the muster roll in particular.

<sup>2</sup> A horse soldier who equips himself with his own horse.

## KING AND HIS SERVANTS, THEIR QUALITIES AND RELATIONS

It has been said, 'one should give up a lord who is very ferocious ; but one who is miserly sooner than one who is very ferocious ; one who is incapable of appreciation sooner than one who is miserly ; and one who is ungrateful sooner than one who is incapable of appreciation.' Therefore there should never be in a king the above-mentioned disposition nor the following qualities, namely, a feeling of disgust with a large gathering of men and a want of desire to converse with men. These qualities do not lead to a harmony of mind between servants and master, and the servants feeling restrained are not wholly won over. Kings also not understanding the good and bad qualities of persons are not able to gather a group of good men. Therefore after abandoning these qualities completely, whatever will help in the collection of such men should be done positively. All the persons engaged in service should be respected according to their rank, persons of higher rank should not be treated on the same level with the persons of lower rank ; and no one should be allowed to insult another keeping in view his own welfare. Speaking highly of ordinary men as well as able and industrious men, showing kind regard to them, granting their requests, and emphasizing their importance, he should do what leads to his welfare by using all means. If any new servant is to be engaged full inquiry should be made about his family, place of residence, relations and first service, and if he is not found fraudulent, profligate or a spy on behalf of others, murderous, drunkard, dissolute, very old, incapable of any work, he should be kept when found very brave. But no servant should be engaged without taking a surety for him. If he runs away after committing robbery, murder and other lawful acts, then the surety must be held responsible for the offender's conduct. This matter should not be neglected. Then the servant remains attentive (to his work) and does not go out of control, and the allotted work is done rightly.

## KING'S BEHAVIOUR

Kings should be moderate in speech. Unless there is work they should not keep on talking with anybody and anything whatever. If they talk in such a manner, the servants get unduly intimate and unrestrained. After necessarily giving encouragement to persons in a

wise manner, those with whom discussions are to be made about what is to be done and not to be done, and about the good or the bad side of the situation which has arisen, should be made to speak in political matters. Kings should listen to them attentively. If what they say appeals to their own judgment, then it should be accepted, being considered to be the best. If those people have not been able to deliberate or advise well, then without treating them with indifference and by stating their own views openly and without showing any impatience, kings should discuss fully the merits and demerits of the work to be undertaken. People should be made to realize those merits and demerits. Other daily work which is to be entrusted to ordinary servants should generally be given by signs. But they should not always continue using signs, such as gestures of eyes, hands, feet and other members, or restlessness of body. They should practice steadiness of seat, like a post or a mountain. Kings should not utter the faults of any servant high or low. If any faults are found, they should not be communicated to others. After keeping them in mind means should be employed to remedy them. The servant should be under the impression that whatever fault he has committed is not known to the master. This impression keeps the servants obedient, nay, they are even careful to remedy their faults. Then it becomes easy to correct their faults.

#### PRINCE'S EDUCATION

Even kings do not give up vices and adopt virtues once for all. For this purpose, a few good persons should be kept near the princes to correct or to guide them. They should always be made to live in their company. They should be made to do strictly the study of *Sastras*, and of writing without any idleness on their part. Similarly, royal teachers, such as professional wrestlers and other experts (जैठो) who are well-versed in the arts and knowledge of spear-throwing (भेजणे?), sword-playing (परजणे?), wrestling (कुस्तोघेणें) and athletic exercises (तालोमकरणे) should be engaged. Under their instructions each of those arts should be taught. Through false kindness studies should not be allowed to be neglected. The reason is that the ideal Hindu king is God himself who is the teacher of the whole world and is the distributor of weal and woe to all. If the



worldy king is endowed with virtues, then the welfare of the greatest number is possible ; if he is possessed of vices, the misery of the most is the result. Therefore 'the king is the maker of the age'. Consequently kings should possess many virtues. Even though they have studied all sciences, they have become endowed with all virtues, they have acquired a kingdom by the favour of God, and they are praised by all people, still they should not feel satisfied with this. They should always give thought to their own merits and defects. Nay, even one or two good men who are honest, influential, thoughtful and of sharp understanding should always be kept near by way of constant company. They should be definitely ordered that they should always give warning about the faults committed or things not done by him. By respecting them like elderly persons they should be attentively listened to. By not resenting their timely advice they should be treated with respect, and their words of encouragement should be looked upon as a source of gratification. As a consequence those persons feeling easiness of mind will warn him about the faults committed by him which he must abandon. Consequently, as the root of a tree makes the tree grow strong in a well-watered place, so the king, who is the root of the kingdom and is endowed with virtues, causes the growth of the kingdom

#### QUALITY OF TOLERANCE IN A KING

Kings should be very tolerant, for the reason that the king is the lord of a large number of people and all are generally not of the same character. Every one has some faults or others, nay, every one from the poor upwards to the highest officers get angry at times. In anger they carry on indecent wordy discussions. At that time keeping himself tranquil and keeping a smiling face in order to please them he should well consider the offence committed by them. Proper punishment should be awarded. As a consequence later on wise men feel ashamed of their behaviour and, becoming grateful to the master, do not commit again the same faults. So without toleration the way of making servants give up their faults is not possible.

*(To be continued)*

# The Ajnapatra or Royal Edict

*Relating to the Principles of Maratha State Policy*

## CHAPTER IV

### ADMINISTRATIVE AND MINISTERIAL POLICY AND ORGANIZATION

#### KING'S ESSENTIAL PUBLIC FUNCTIONS

In the kingdom the organization of royal troops, of small and large forts, of cavalry and infantry, the removal of the afflictions of the people, the protection of the people, the inquiry into the prevalence of *Dharma* and *Adharma*, timely charity, regular distributions of fixed salaries, timely taxation from the people, and the storing of acquired things, a regular inquiry into the state income and expenditure, a resolve to do works great and small according to their importance after knowing their past and with an eye to their future, the meting out of punishment after considering the justice and injustice of a thing, and then determining its penalty according to *Śāstras*, the organization of means for removing the calamities of foreign invasion, receipt of news by appointing spies in all countries, the proper consideration of the duty of alliance, war and neutrality to another state upon any particular occasion, and the determination of action according to it, the protection of the existing kingdom and the acquisition of new territory, the proper observation of the important rules relating to female apartments and others, an increase of respect towards respectable men and the control of low-minded persons, the gaining of the favour of gods and good Brahmanas devoted to gods, and the destruction of irreligious tendencies, the spreading of the duties of religion, the acquisition of merit for the eternal world, and doing such other duties, these are certainly the functions of a king.

#### THE NECESSITY OF MINISTERS

But a king alone cannot, even if he wishes, perform all these functions. Therefore he has to appoint as his representatives ministers (प्रधान) in order to conduct the affairs of the kingdom. The affairs of the kingdom cannot at all be conducted without

ministers. Kings who lived in the past considering their own interests created ministers for bearing the burden of the kingdom, and bore the burden of the kingdom by increasing the respect of ministers as much as of themselves.

### THEIR IMPORTANCE

Ministers are the pillars of the house whose name is kingdom. They are the chief means for the proper protection of the kingdom and also of creating a new one. A minister is one who spreads the king's power. A minister is the head charged with the duty of the protection of the people. A minister is a restraint on the sea of injustice born of the king's intoxication. A minister is like the goad of an elephant. Nay, a minister is the repose of the king in this world because of his administration of state affairs, and the light for the next world on account of his protection of religion. Kings have no other relations or things higher than ministers, of all the servants ministers should have the highest respect. Kings should appoint ministers possessed of good qualities, realizing fully that ministers alone are the king's true arms, that ministers alone are his relatives. The whole burden of the state should be placed on them. A minister is a chief officer (मन्त्रिकून). His influence should be considered more than that of all (others). Like the king's own orders all must be made to obey his orders. Small and great affairs of state should be done in consultation with him. In order that his greatness may be recognized by all, his word should be carried out on special occasions by the king, setting aside even his own wishes. He should not be made discontented for the sake of small things. From a servant earning five takkas <sup>1</sup> (टक्का) to the minister is a successive gradation of importance of respect. The most worthy of all respect is the minister. It is not that this respect accrues to him suddenly. With great exertion this influence gets augmented gradually. But the strength (of this influence) does not rise again when faults are committed for small things, when bad speeches are made amongst ordinary people or when traditional forms of respect and superiority are abandoned. Then how will other people behave with him respectfully? When he does not command respect who will listen to him? If no one listens to him, how can the weight

<sup>1</sup> Either a rupee or an anna

of government be properly borne? If other ordinary unknown persons are employed in great works, a large number of days would be necessary for the growth of their influence. In the meanwhile until it is acquired, several works may be ruined.

### QUALIFICATIONS OF MINISTERS

Therefore ministerships should be given after full consideration, judging the character of the person and assuring oneself that no danger would result therefrom. By appointing an increasing number of persons of good character and by seeing that they are well-versed in the affairs (of the state) a king may secure himself against error. The minister's position is not one of ordinary importance. It comes next to that of the king. To keep up that position the minister's virtues (qualities) should be equal to those of the king as stated above. Ministerships should be given to those who are possessed of such qualities as good birth, who are experienced, capable of understanding what is to be done and not to be done, versed in the *Śāstras*, proficient in royal duties (and) afraid of sin; who act after bearing in mind the nature of the relationship between the master and the servant, who are devoted to god, handsome, compassionate, brave, endowed with courage, rational, outspoken, not idle, inobstinate, free from vices, sinless, virtuous, industrious, knowing the past, looking to the future, creative, ungreedy, harmless, clever in determining their policy against enemies by using various expedients, such as conciliation, gift, discord, punishment, peace, war, and separation and alliance of allies. Those who are devoid of these qualities and are crippled, or are thieves and liars, should not be asked to undertake such work. They should not be asked to work in important offices like those of a minister; in this matter is there any doubt? It is proper that a well born, respected or noble, but hereditary servant whose ancestors have rendered great services should be encouraged. But he should be abandoned, if he is obstinate, unyielding in what he says, or possessing bad habits or getting aggrieved at the respect shown to another, and possessing a spirit of rivalry, in the manner in which only flowers are gathered from a thorny flower-tree and thorns are abandoned. He should positively be made to stay at home and another who is found fit should be taken in his stead from amongst his kinsmen. If a person is endowed with all good qualities and is found serving in an

ordinary rank, he should not be suddenly given a ministership on account of his special virtues. If one is found possessed of special virtues he should be given a ministership after promoting him gradually.

#### KING'S POLICY TOWARDS HIS MINISTERS

When one is appointed a minister, he should not at all be disrespected and insulted at every turn. If perchance due to force of circumstances, a minister were to do something improper knowingly or unknowingly, the king, keeping that in mind and not speaking about his fault in public nor allowing him or other servants to know that the fault is known to him, should cleverly make the minister see it so that he gives up his fault gradually. It is not possible to get at pleasure servants of a minister's rank. One should always be very careful about their self-respect. Then only would they bear the burden of state. With happiness of mind, with hope and without minding the efforts made, they would achieve much more. Ministers should be given agents who are endowed with the qualities stated before and who are devoted to their master and who carry out every work entrusted to them in all its details. Ministers should take work from them without harshness. If the servants are persons appointed on a minister's recommendation or are efficient workers, the king should of course take service from them by giving them work in every case (प्रत्येकवादे) according to their worth. Those persons should not at all be appointed to do work in the same place where those who have recommended them work. The protection of territories and forts is not possible without those warriors who acquire new territories. However if that authority is entrusted them alone, they would be found fit only for fighting work.

#### THE FUNCTIONS OF A MINISTER

To make others behave well by himself showing great regard for virtue and fear of sin, and by acting himself according to the proper relations that ought to obtain between a master and a servant, to administer the country according to laws with due regard after proper inquiry and the justice or injustice of an action, to administer justice according to the *Sastras*; these are the functions of a minister.

## RELATION OF A MINISTER TO OTHERS

Therefore all the burden of the state the authority of territories and posts and administration should be entrusted to a minister. The generals of the army should be made to depend on him. In this way, if at times a general quarrels with a minister, there will be no difficulty at all about punishment. Nay, in all kinds of work one is a check on the other. On this account one feeling afraid of the other carries out regularly the laws laid down.

## KING AND A MINISTER

The authority of the kingdom should be entrusted to a minister. However, it should not be so arranged that the king would come to know of his minister's administration and the state of territories, forts and army, only when the minister informs him. The king should be himself vigilant by employing persons, who are attached to him and are trustworthy, along with ministers in the territories, forts, and army, and by informing himself constantly from them or from his spies. In this way the king comes to know how they do their work and whether they act with justice or injustice and can punish them, without being deceived, then and there according to the measure of their offence. Offenders getting promptly punished remain where they are. Therefore it is very improper to entrust the whole burden of the state and the authority of punishment over all territories into the hands of one. Every minister and every general should be given different duties according to their ability. Kind inquiries should be personally made of all of them (by the king). In view of the work entrusted to them kings should supply them constantly with other necessities. They should be honoured in accordance with the work done, so that their hopes might increase and they might accomplish even difficult tasks in their anxiety to excel. Day by day then, like the crescent moon the kingdom would grow. If one alone is entrusted with the burden of the state others who are equal to him would become indifferent to state affairs; nay, would even become inclined to spoil the work done by him who takes the lead. The administration would suffer in consequence. Therefore an intelligent king should never order these things in this way.

## CHAPTER V

## COMMERCIAL POLICY

## THE IMPORTANCE OF MERCHANTS

Merchants are the ornament of the kingdom and the glory of the king. They are the cause of the prosperity of the kingdom. All kinds of goods which are not available come into the kingdom. That kingdom becomes rich. In times of difficulties whatever debt is necessary is available. With its help danger is averted. There is a great advantage in the protection of merchants.

## POLICY TOWARDS MERCHANTS

For this reason the respect due to merchants should be maintained. On no account should strong action be taken against them nor should they be disrespected. By making them establish shops and factories in market towns, trade should be maintained in elephants, horses, rich silks and cloths woven of gold and silver threads (जरमिनाजरबाब), clothes of wool (पगामो) and other kinds of cloth, jewels, arms and all other kinds of goods. In the capital-market great merchants should be induced to come and settle. Annually and during great marriage festivals and other occasions, they should be gratified by giving them presents of clothes and utensils. Those merchants who reside in foreign countries should be persuaded to come and settle. If they do not find the place favourable they should be kept pleased where they are, and by showing them kindness their agents should be brought and kept by giving suitable places for their shops. Similarly by sending an assurance of safety to sea-faring merchants at various ports they should be given the freedom of intercourse in trade.

FOREIGN EUROPEAN MERCHANTS. THEIR CHARACTER AND  
POLITICAL AMBITION

Amongst the merchants the Portuguese (फिरंगी) and the English (ईंग्रज) and the Dutch (दलद) and the French (फरासीस) and the

Danes (डिंगमार?) and other hat-wearing (टोपोकर) merchants also do carry on trade and commerce. But they are not like other merchants. Their masters, every one of them, are ruling kings. By their orders and under their control these people come to trade in these provinces. How can it happen that rulers have no greed for territories? These hat-wearers (टोपोकर) have full ambition to enter into these provinces to increase their territories, and to establish their own opinions (religion). Accordingly at various places they have already succeeded in their ambitious undertakings. Moreover this race of people is obstinate. Where a place has fallen into their hands they will not give it up even at the cost of their lives.

#### POLICY TOWARDS THEM

Their intercourse should therefore be restricted to the extent of only their coming and going (for trade). They should strictly never be given places to settle. They should not at all be allowed to visit sea-forts. If some place has sometimes to be given for a factory, it should not be given at the mouth of an inlet or on the shores of the sea. If land is given in such places, it may be that they remain obedient as long as they like; they would, however, establish new forts at those ports at some time or with the help of their navy to protect them. Their strength lies in navy, guns and ammunition. As a consequence so much territory would be lost to the kingdom. Therefore if any place is at all to be given to them it should be given in the midst of two or four famous great towns distant about eight to sixteen miles from the mouth of the sea, just as the French (फरासोस) were given lands at Rājapur.<sup>1</sup> The place must be such that it must be low-lying and within the range and control of the neighbouring town so as to avoid trouble to the town. Thus by fixing their place of habitation factories should be permitted to be built. They should not be allowed to build (strong) permanent houses. If they live in this way by accepting the above conditions it is well; if not, there is no need of them. It is enough if they occasionally come and go, and do not trouble us; nor need we trouble them.

<sup>1</sup> A market town and inland post (not in the open sea) in the Southern Konkan where pepper and cardamom trade flourished. In 1649 English had opened a factory there. It was closed in 1682-1683.



## POLICY TOWARDS THEM DURING WAR

When the country of the enemy is looted or during naval warfare, if merchants are captured they should be made to pay a fine after considering the circumstances. The realization of the amount of fine should be with the idea of preserving them. After it is paid some hospitality should be done to the merchants and they should be sent to their places with due respect. The punishment which is inflicted on the servants of the enemy is not proper for merchants.

## CHAPTER VI

## POLICY TOWARDS WATANDARS

## THE ARMS AND METHOD OF WATANDARS

It is merely a language of common convention that Desamukhs<sup>1</sup> and Desakulkarnis,<sup>2</sup> Patils<sup>3</sup> and other hereditary right-holders are to be called watandars.<sup>4</sup> They are no doubt small but independent chiefs of territories. The weak manage to exist by rigidly maintaining the tradition of power though decreasing from the Emperor downwards. But they are not to be considered as ordinary persons. These people are really the sharers in the kingdom. They are not inclined to live on whatever watan<sup>5</sup> they possess, or to always act loyally towards the king who is the lord of the whole country and to abstain from committing wrong against any one. All the time they want to acquire new possessions bit by bit, and to become strong, and after becoming strong their ambition is to seize forcibly from some, and to create enmities and depredations against others. Knowing that royal punishment will fall on them, they first take refuge with others, fortify their places with their help, rob the travellers, loot the territories and fight desperately, not caring even for their lives. When a foreign invasion comes they make peace with the invader with a desire for gaining or protecting a watan, meet personally the enemy, allow the enemy to enter the kingdom by divulging secrets of both sides,

<sup>1</sup> Hereditary officers, heads of Parganas.

<sup>2</sup> Hereditary officers, heads of mahals.

<sup>3</sup> Hereditary officers, heads of villages.

<sup>4</sup> Holders of any hereditary estate, office, right or due.

<sup>5</sup> An hereditary estate, office, right, due.

and then becoming harmful to the kingdom get to be difficult of control. For this reason the control of these people has to be very cleverly devised.

#### KING'S POLICY TOWARDS THEM

But because these faults are found in them it would be a great injustice that they should be hated and that their wātans should be discontinued ; and on special occasions it would prove a cause of calamity. If, on the contrary, that is not done and these people are given freedom of movement, their natural (wild) spirit would immediately find play. Therefore both of these extreme attitudes cannot be useful in the interest of state policy. They have to be kept positively between conciliation and punishment. Their existing wātans should be continued, but their power over the people should be done away with. They should not be allowed to have any privileges or wātan rights without a state charter. Whatever has come down to them from the past should not be allowed to increase nor to become less even by a little, and they should be made to obey the orders of the authorities of the territory. A group of kinsmen or agents should not be allowed to remain jointly on the watan. After making inquiries, their kinsmen and agents should each be kept in distant provinces along with their families by giving them work according to their ability. They should not be allowed to get absorbed in their wātans. Watandars should not be allowed to build even strong houses and castles. If by chance there is found any one overbearing and unrestrained, he should be praised and sent to do that work which is difficult of achievement. In it if he succeeds or is ruined, both the events would be in the king's interest. If he is saved he should be given even more difficult work. Wātandars should not be allowed to quarrel amongst themselves. They should be well flattered. But there are established usages for their behaviour and they should not be allowed to transgress even a little. If infringed, immediate punishment should be inflicted. Looking to the position of wātandars and establishing every year or two, proper relations with them a king should weaken them by taking a little tribute and other things from them. When a wātandar who has not infringed the duties of his station is near him, a king should speak about him to other servants that he is virtuous, honest and attached to him, and similarly those

words which would give encouragement to him. If amongst the *waṭandars* there are honest persons, it is very difficult to get servants of their type. Firstly if a *waṭandar* be a person of reliability and in addition, if he be honest, he would become like a gold flower emitting good smell. Therefore such *waṭandars* should be gathered with great care ; favour should be bestowed on them, respect should be shown to them, royal service should be entrusted to them, nay, they should be kept to do important work.

## CHAPTER VII

### POLICY REGARDING HEREDITARY VRITTIS AND INAMS

#### POLICY TOWARDS VRITTI HOLDERS

It would be a great sin to confiscate *vrittis*<sup>1</sup> which may be great and small, but which have come down from ancient times. One's *vritti* should not at all be handed over to another, nor should it be appropriated by the king himself. If the *vritti*-holder commits a fault he should be punished according to law, but it would not be just to confiscate his *vritti*. If a great offence is committed which justifies the confiscation of a *vritti*, then after consulting the *Śāstras*<sup>2</sup> action should be taken in accordance with the *Śāstras*. The main idea is that the king should not at all cherish the low aim of appropriating the *vritti* of another justly or unjustly.

#### NO NEW *Vrittis*.

Similarly when servants and *vritti*-holders have done great service they should be given money, horses, elephants, clothes, ornaments and other things; if they are found fit, they should be told to do higher service, but should not be given a new *vritti*, for the reason that if a *vritti* be given out of public revenue, then the revenue would get less hereditarily by so much. Decrease of revenue leads to the decay of the kingdom, and to the loss of the wealth of the kingdom. Therefore those who are born in royal families should not allow any decrease in revenue to take place under the influence of flattery. If any additional burden is imposed on the people, then this

<sup>1</sup> Hereditary rights, office, profession or dues.      <sup>2</sup> Law-books.

new order causes the people extreme pain and they suffer and get troubled. To cause affliction to a large number of people for the good of one carries its own curse. Their curse is detrimental to welfare here and hereafter. Then the descendants of those to whom *vritti* is given would not necessarily be like them. If by chance their descendants are actuated by wicked desires then they would be strengthened and supported by that *vritti*. The result would be great lawlessness. Then it may truly be stated that kings themselves have permanently ruined the interest of the state. If the king's descendants confiscate the *vritti* for an offence which is committed, then the descendants acquire the sin or demerit of taking back what was given by them. Moreover in this *Kali* age sin alone will increase day by day ; why, it is increasing at present. However these *vritti*-holders are not at all afraid of sin. If those who are granted *vrittis* or their descendants begin to trouble the country with a desire for rapine and plunder, then the guilt of those crimes falls on the grantor of the *vritti*. After taking into consideration all these dangers there should be no new *vritti* given to any one.

#### NO NEW INAMS

Similarly it is a great injustice to give lands as *inams*<sup>1</sup> to servants or *vritti*-holders for the purpose of achieving a task. A king, if he be an enemy of his kingdom should be generous in granting lands. A king is called the protector of land for the sake of preserving the land, but if the land be given away, over what would he rule ? whose protector will he be ? Even if a village or a piece of land be given for any special service rendered, still as long as the kingdom would last there would be work of administration to be done from generation to generation. There would also be servants who do those works. Therefore if grants of land were to be made to servants at the time when they do a work, then according to this it would happen that the whole kingdom would be granted away. Other distinct defects of this method have been pointed out in connection with the subject of *vritti*. They also occur invariably. Therefore a king who wishes to rule a kingdom, to increase it and to acquire fame as one who is skilled in politics should not at all get infatuated and grant land

<sup>1</sup> Hereditary estates.

to the extent of even a barley corn (यवोदरप्रमाणे) To say that servants who have done service which is useful from generation to generation should be given something which would continue with them hereditarily is not proper. For when he becomes a servant and accepts salary, then it is his duty to do his master's work by making great exertion and daring, putting his heart and soul in it. However if one has done very meritorious service which could not have been done by others, then he should be given a higher service with a *waṭan* of salary attached to it, so that there would be no infliction on the people nor any decrease in public revenue.

#### GRANTS OF LANDS FOR *Dharma* PURPOSES

To give a gift of land for the purpose of maintenance of *Dharma* is an act of eternal merit. But this gift of land should be made after seeing the place, the time, and fitness, and after inquiring, according to *Śāstras* thoroughly into what is *dharma* and *adharma*. Grants of villages or lands should not be made to *jogis*, *jangams*, those disguised and others who adopt different garbs for their own ends, to those who can afford to wander about from place to place for alms, or to those who themselves are, or whose descendants can become, wicked and are promoters of evil ways of life; and in the same way to those who are opposed to their own religion, or are heterodox. Grants of revenue-free villages or land should be made at *Parvas*<sup>1</sup> and other auspicious times or in great holy places for the protection of the good to those *Brāhmanas* who are *Śrotrīs* (well versed in sacred lore), family men, and those well-conversant with the *Vedaśāstra*<sup>2</sup> and possessing no income of their own, and whose leaving the house for begging alms would lead to a loss, religious duties and merit. Similarly, villages or lands should be granted to great temples where divine presence is felt (जागृत), to hermitages of saints, to places of *samādhi*<sup>3</sup> where for the purpose of worship, offerings, pilgrimages and other things distribution of food is regularly maintained. And after the grant is made, there should not be any desire to retake whatever may be the times of difficulty

<sup>1</sup> Holy days in lunar months

<sup>2</sup> The four Vedas and six Vedangas

<sup>3</sup> A place where a *sanyāsi* or *sādhu* is buried.

and even in cases of danger to life ; on the contrary after remembering that worldly happiness is momentary and considering the fear of the other word, even a sipful of water from what is given should not be coveted even as a joke. The perils of those kings who are brave and afraid of sin of this nature are averted by God himself. However it is not that whatever is going to happen fails to happen by being sinfully disposed, nay, sinful disposition leads to the increase of evils only. Therefore a king should act in this way, after pondering well the meaning of what is stated above.

## CHAPTER VIII

### POLICY ABOUT FORTS AND THEIR CONSTRUCTION AND ORGANIZATION

#### THE IMPORTANCE OF FORTS

The essence of the whole kingdom is forts. If there are no forts, and when a foreign invasion comes, the open country becomes supportless, and the surrounding country becomes desolated, and the people get routed and broken up. After the desolation of the country what would be left to be called a kingdom ? Therefore kings who lived in the past first built forts in the country, and thus made the country permanently strong and averted successfully the danger of foreign invasion. This kingdom was created by the late revered and exalted Majesty,<sup>1</sup> with the possession of forts alone. Forts were built at suitable places in those parts of the country which would not come under his control. Similarly sea-forts were built. With their possession and help, and by making constant punitive expeditions, he acquired a thornless kingdom from Salheri-Ahivant to the banks of the Kaveri river. A great foe like Aurangzeb came and conquered the great states of Bijapur and Bhāgnagar. He struggled very hard against this kingdom for full thirty to thirty-two years. What was impossible for his efforts ? A portion of this kingdom remained, unconquered because there were forts in the country. Later came an opportunity to regain the former extent of the kingdom. Besides, it is necessary to protect the kingdom. All the forts and strongholds should be strengthened very carefully as stated above by personally

<sup>1</sup> Sivāji.

attending to their additional equipment. With great effort places suitable for forts should be captured in any new country which is to be acquired. A king should conquer gradually the country unprotected by forts and strongholds by building new fortified places from the boundaries of his kingdom onwards. Keeping the army under the protection of those places the country lying in front should be brought gradually under his own rule. Acting in this way he should increase his kingdom. If there is no protection of forts and strongholds the army cannot continue fighting in another's territory. Without an army one cannot enter another's territory. For all these reasons, the condition of the kingdom which is without forts and strongholds is like a covering of (passing) clouds. Therefore those who want to create a kingdom should maintain forts in an efficient condition realizing in mind that forts and strongholds alone mean the kingdom; that forts and strongholds mean the treasury, that forts and strongholds mean the strength of the army; that forts and strongholds mean the prosperity of the kingdom, that forts and strongholds mean our places of residence, that forts and strongholds mean our places of peaceful sleep; nay, that forts and strongholds mean our very protection of life. The desire for building new ones should be the aim of a king himself. No one else should be relied upon to do it.

#### THEIR ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

The work of protection of forts and strongholds is very important. If the fortified place is endangered owing to Mamaledars<sup>1</sup> and other persons, who have to be kept to look after these very important places, committing treachery or showing cowardice when an enemy attacks them, or through carelessness, then so much of the kingdom with the fortified place is definitely lost. As a consequence the remaining places and the kingdom itself get molested. If a powerful foe comes, the officers-in-charge of other forts do harm to those forts, being influenced in their behaviour by the action of the officer whose fort is lost. That is, every blow falls on the kingdom. For these reasons, considering the protection of the kingdom as the main object of a ruler, their repair and administration should not be allowed to be neglected even in the smallest degree. On that

<sup>1</sup> Officers.

account the life of the fort is the Havalдар<sup>1</sup> of the fort himself; similarly is the chief Sarnobat,<sup>2</sup> they must be chosen by the king himself and must not be retained on the recommendation or flattery of any one. Such men should be kept who are well known Marathas and soldiers, who would care for their reputation, who have their families, who are trustworthy, industrious, non-covetous and wakeful, who exact properly their master's work from all by keeping them satisfied, and who consider that the fort is the dearest treasure entrusted to them by their master, and who do not allow it to be endangered as long as they are alive, who obey fully the rules laid down, and who do their day's duty during the day and their night's duty during the night, and, without becoming idle, protect all the strongholds by making every effort. Similarly the officers Sabnis<sup>3</sup> and Karkhanis<sup>4</sup> who are the promoters of the laws laid down by the king and are the judges of all good and bad actions, and who are also high authorities like Havalдарs and Sarnobats, should act (like them) by making all act in the same way. Therefore they should be employed after seeing that they possess the same qualities and are good writers, trustworthy and frank. Similarly Tatsarnobat,<sup>5</sup> Bargirs,<sup>6</sup> Naik-wadi,<sup>7</sup> and Rajputs<sup>8</sup> should be entertained after judging whether they are brave, have families, and are trustworthy. A Rajput of ten *Takkas* who is to be appointed in the fort should not be appointed without a royal *sanad*. Persons who are to be appointed for service in the fort should not at all be kept in service if they are unsteady, thievish, murderous, capricious, fond of drinking and of intoxicating drugs, addicted to the use of Bhang and perfidious. Those who are to be appointed should be entertained only on assurance of their good character. Even then after three years a Havalдар should be transferred, after four years a Sarnobat, after five years a Sabnis and Karkhanis, and to these posts should be sent persons fit for the posts

<sup>1</sup> The chief officer of the fort. He had the keys.

<sup>2</sup> The officer who kept watch over the fort.

<sup>3</sup> The officer-in-charge of the accounts in general and the muster roll in particular.

<sup>4</sup> The officer who was to look after store of grain and war material, i.e. commissariat work.

<sup>5</sup> Officers looking after rampart walls.

<sup>6</sup> Cavalry soldiers equipped with horse and arms by the state.

<sup>7</sup> The officer commanding or the leader of infantry units of nine soldiers.

<sup>8</sup> Mercenary Rajput soldiers.



and similarly well qualified. By pleasing them according to their nature, by keeping them in his company for some days, and again by purifying by personal association their faith in the maintenance of proper relations between the master and servant if it is ever contaminated, without letting them know about it, they should be given other work according to their ability. Similarly Tatsarnobats and Bargirs should be renewed. Naikwadi, and Rajputs, if they are found guilty or good workers, should be removed and punished or promoted as is necessary. If the Havaldar of the fort dies whilst doing Sarnobat's work that work should not be entrusted to his sons or relations. His sons and relations should be consoled by giving them other work according to their ability. The relations of the Sardars (officers) of the cavalry, or the persons recommended by them, should not be positively entrusted with the work of the forts. Similarly if there are one, two, three relations belonging to one family who are well versed in the management of forts, then the work of forts has necessarily to be entrusted to them. For it is very difficult to get men for work in forts. But they should not be placed in forts which are near each other. They should be given work and made to serve in distant forts, from where one is not able to join hands with others, and between which there are other forts. Desamukhs, Desapandes,<sup>1</sup> Patils, Kulkarnis,<sup>2</sup> Chawgules<sup>3</sup> and other hereditary *watandars* who occupy the territory lying round about a fort should not be given service on the forts near it. They should be employed on forts which are ten or five villages distant from their *watan*. If the *watan* and a nearby service get joined together, then a *watandar* would not do well in his service and would go time after time to his home; nay, at times with a greed for his *watan*, divulging secrets of the place he would even betray it. Therefore persons living near by the fort should not be employed in the fort. If whilst performing the duties of the fort they are found to have committed robberies and murders, bribery, quarrels, delay and idleness and other offences, they should be removed without waiting for the end of the term according to the usual practice and before the term of service is completed. Punishment should be meted out according to the offence committed. For that post other brave persons fit for the post should be appointed.

<sup>1</sup> Hereditary officers of a mahal<sup>2</sup> Hereditary village accountants<sup>3</sup> Village officers.

If it is reported that the officer of the fort or any one else is harbouring an evil desire of betraying the place, then without trying to find out first whatever is true or false, without attributing it to rumour, without putting him on his guard, and by immediately finding means of not allowing the matter to slip out of his hand, and without allowing any one to know about it, the man should be removed and brought near himself. When he has come into the royal presence, he should be judged justly, and if the charge is proved against him then he should be immediately beheaded without showing any kindness. And his head should be shown on every fort. A drum should be beaten proclaiming that that was the punishment for those who committed such offences. After proper and just inquiry if he is found innocent, then he should be conciliated in many ways so that the stigma in his mind of having been removed from his post may be wiped out. But he should not be again sent back to his own post. By giving him his pay and keeping him in royal presence for four or six months he should be sent to do some other work which is suitable to him. Moreover, a person who is brought from a place on account of true or false defamation, if found innocent according to law and judgment, should not be sent again to do that work. If found truly guilty, he should be punished according to the offence committed. If the fort is besieged by an enemy, the place should be protected by fighting daily from the fort as long as the provisions and help last. When the provisions are exhausted, the supply of men is stopped and the state of extremity is reached, still a king should save the *mamaledars* and other persons, and get them out by using all means in his power. If it happens that the king's help does not reach, then the *mamaledar* and other people should positively die fighting. The king should maintain his (*mamaledar's*) children in all ways. But as stated above, if the extremity is reached, it should never be done that they should, by consulting amongst themselves, yield the place and save their lives. The face of an officer who acts in this way should not be seen, and he should be made to sit at home by not asking him again to serve. Even if any one makes an application on his behalf he should not be allowed to do so, and treating him as written above, means should be used to regain the place by making a strong demand on him for the place. When he is making efforts, if means are not found to get back the place, and as a consequence,

if it is found that he gets ashamed and afraid, then on the recommendation of a minister who makes a petition on his behalf he should be told to work near the king by allowing the petition and by admitting him into royal presence. Then gradually he should be promoted. If any officer in charge seeing the place endangered gives it to the enemy and saving his life goes over to the enemy, an attempt should be made to capture him. If he cannot be captured, he should be killed by using all possible means. In spite of all these means if he does not return from the enemy, his children should be enslaved, his women should be treated as slaves, and he also should be killed by every effort then there and by using poison, assassins and other means. Even if it happens that provisions get exhausted, help is stopped and the king is unable to go to his help, and in extremity the officer-in-charge giving the fort to the enemy goes over to the enemy, the persons in his family should be restrained similarly. As has already been stated in the beginning he should take all the steps necessary. If he comes under an assurance of safety then his children should be allowed to go, he should be made to sit at home, and should not be allowed to use means to recover the place even if he wishes, and on some excuse or other no work should ever be given him even after several days. Service in the fort is very difficult and Government must be very strict, if not properly governed the administration of forts would become very weak. This should not at all happen. The administration of forts should not at all be entrusted to persons, who are his kinsmen, relations, or those recommended by him. If they commit any fault one feels constrained to punish them. If proper punishment is not given, others find excuse to petition on their own behalf, and thus influence leads to the increase of influence and the established laws are broken. This very thing is the cause of the ruin of the kingdom. For this purpose the breach of laws should not at all be allowed. The chief means for the protection of the kingdom is forts.

#### THEIR CONSTRUCTION

They should be built on sites chosen in every part of the country. There should not be a higher point near the fort amongst the surrounding hills. If there is one, it should be brought under the

control of the fort by pulling it down with the use of mines. If it cannot be pulled down with the help of the mines, then that place should not be left uncontrolled but should be built and strengthened. The building of the fort should not be taken up to meet only a temporary need. Ramparts, towers, approaches by sap and mine, watches, outer walls, should be built wherever necessary. Those places which are vulnerable should be made difficult by every effort with the help of mines, and the weakness of the fort should be removed by building strong edifices. Gates should be built in such a way that they should escape bombardment from below, and they should have towers in front which would control the paths of egress and ingress. To have one gate to the fort is a great drawback. Therefore, according to the needs of the fort, one, two, or three gates and similarly small secret passages should be provided. Out of these those which are always necessary for usual intercourse should be kept open and other doors and outlets should be built up. Those officers and others who are to be kept in charge of fortifications should be clever, experienced and active. The fortifications of the fort should be made strong. There are several classes of forts which can be built on every mountain. Several mountains are very great. After locating some point on the mountain, it should be fortified. If there is a plain land in front of its gates or under the walls of the fort, then it is called a castle on the plain (मुईकोट). The result in such a case is that the invading enemy can immediately reach the gates or the walls of the fort. Therefore round a fort of this type should first be dug, whatever the effort, a deep and wide moat in front of its gates, under the rampart wall and to the extent of the plain, and at the bottom of the rampart another wall should strongly be built and on it big guns and small guns should be placed so that no enemy force can reach the sides of the moat without difficulty. The approaches to the fort should not be easy of access. If they are easy of access they should be destroyed, and by growing a thicket of trees such paths should be constructed as it would make very difficult for a foreign army to approach any other side. Besides this, secret paths must be kept in order to escape in time of danger. At times by using the same outlet or gate (सांजबादा) should be mounted. The protection of forts depends on the trees of Kalārgī (कलारगी). Its thickness should

be increased by every efforts. Out of it not a single stick should be allowed to be cut. Against times of danger soldiers and musketeers should be placed in that thicket. They should be fit to do this work. There should always be outposts round forts. There should be patrolling by sentinels of the environs of the fort. The reply to the watches should be given by the watch-guards of the outposts. There should not at all be a strongly built house at the bottom of the fort, or a stone enclosure round any house. Moreover after first finding out if there is water in the place then a fort should be built. If there is no water, and if it becomes necessary to fortify the place, then by breaking the rock, reservoirs and tanks with water sufficient to last till the rainy season for the whole fort should be built on the supposition that there is a spring of water in the fort and that it would somehow or other supply enough water. One should not wholly depend upon it. For during fight springs get dried up owing to the noise of guns and hence arises the difficulty (of water). Therefore for storing water two or four reservoirs should be constructed. Water from them should not be allowed to be spent. The water in the fort should be well protected. On the fort, excepting the royal residence, no well-built house should be constructed. The walls of the royal residence should be built of bricks and should be thickly plastered with chunam. No cracks in the house should be allowed to remain where rats, scorpions, insects, and ants would find a place. The compound round the house should be of thinly planted Nirgudi (निरगुडी) and other trees. The officer in charge of the fort (fort-keeper, गडकरी) should not keep the house unoccupied because it is the royal residence. By occupying it and by smoking it for all times it should be seen that the house remains in good condition and that no life or insect infests it. When it is known that the king is coming to the fort, the officer-in-charge should come two or four days previously, and by personally supervising the besmearing with cowdung and the decorating the whole house with Rangoli (रंगोली) and other things he should stay at that place by making it his head quarters till the king arrives at the fort. No rubbish should be allowed to fall on the roads, in the market place and near the walls of the fort. With a warning not to throw the accumulated rubbish down the fort, and by burning it in places (where

it is accumulated), and by putting the burnt ashes in the backyard vegetables should be made to grow in every house. In order that all granaries and storehouses of military provisions in the fort should be free from troubles of fire, rats, insects, ants, and white ants, the floor should be paved with stones and chunam. Tanks (cisterns) should be made on cliffs of forts in places where there is black rock having no cracks. If there is even a small crack, it should be seen that by applying chunam no leakage takes place. By building chunam houses where the ground is fit for chunam work, oil and ghee should be stored there in vessels of china-clay and earthen vessels of bellying mould (झोलमाठ) kept on strong stands. The powder magazine should not be near the house or near the compound of the house. It should be built at an appropriate distance from the chief place and be surrounded by thick enclosure of Nīrgudī and other trees. It should have an underground cellar. There should be only *chunam* work in the cellar. In it bags and vessels of gunpowder should be heaped on rick-stands. Rockets, grenades and other explosives should be kept in the middle portion of the house. They should not be allowed to get damp. After every eight or fifteen days the Havaladar should visit it, and taking out powder, rockets, grenades and other explosives and drying them, seal them again after storing them. Guards should always be kept to protect the powder magazine. They should keep awake day and night during their watch period, and no person should be allowed to approach near them without permission. For the sake of the guns and matchlocks which are necessary for the protection of the fort, soldiers and matchlockmen should be kept. Tatsarnobat, Bargir, Chief Sarnobat and Havaladar should practise firing matchlocks and guns. All soldiers should possess arms, namely, swords and missiles (टाक्णो). On all the vulnerable places in the fort, big guns, small guns, and charakyas<sup>1</sup> and (चरक्या) other machines suitable for those places and also for higher places, should be mounted on platforms on every bastion and rampart wall at suitable intervals. The *charaks* and big guns should be kept on gun-carriages after testing the weight of the guns and by giving them strong iron-rings as supports.

<sup>1</sup> An iron tube filled with powder and fastened to a staff

Bags of powder, iron-bars, brushes for cooling guns, balls, and other iron filings, small or great river-stones of the size of beetel-nuts, Palākhas (पलख) of rockets, matches, of guns, tarafas (तरफा), tools for repairing the touchholes of guns, and other things necessary for gun-firing should always be kept ready near guns. Iron and stone materials should be kept at a distance from gunpowder. Grenades and rockets should be kept ready at every watch. The officer in charge who says that there is no enemy in the intervening country and that when he comes he will get ready by bringing things from storehouses, is foolish and idle. Such an one should not be entrusted with work. He should act according to orders blindly and alertly even if there is no occasion; and then when the real occasion comes there is no possibility of danger. Thus the rules which are laid down continue to be observed uninterruptedly. In the rainy season guns and doors should be besmeared with oil and wax, and by filling the touchholes of guns with wax and by putting front covers on guns sufficient for covering their mouths they should be protected from getting spoiled. Other things should be kept safe so as not to allow them to get damp. Though the work of building is already finished at the time, still those walls, watch towers, bastions, ramparts which get impaired have constantly to be repaired. Trees which grow on fort-walls have to be constantly cut down. After burning the grass growing on the wall and down near the wall, the fort has to be cleared and cleaned. For this purpose a *Karkhāna* (department) of building works should always be kept on every fort and at a proper place, and it should be entrusted to the *Mudradhārī* (मुद्राधारि) or the keeper of the seal. Similarly gunners who are trustworthy and are family men, who shoot accurately and are brave should be appointed as many as are necessary for the fort and the fort-guns. Trees which are on the fort should be protected. Besides them, jack-trees, tamarind-trees, banyan trees, pīmpal trees, and other big trees, lemon trees, orange trees, and other small trees; similarly, flower trees, creeping-plants, nay, useful and useless trees which are likely to grow should be planted in forts and protected. In time of need all of them would serve as wood. In every fort *Brāhmaṇas*, astrologers, *vaidiks*, the learned, also physicians who are versed in mineral medicines and those in herb-medicines, surgeons, exorcists, wound-dressers, and black-smiths, carpenters, stonemiths and cobblers should be engaged in

ones or twos according to the needs of forts. They are not always required on small forts. Therefore their implements of work should be kept ready with them. Where there is work (suited to them) they should go and work; when there is no work they should be asked to do work according to requirements. They should not be allowed to be idle. In every fort salary, treasury, military provisions, and other kinds of articles necessary for forts should be collected and stored. While remembering well that forts would not at all be useful in the absence of this arrangement, the administration of the fort should be carried on as detailed above.

## CHAPTER IX

### NAVAL POLICY

#### IMPORTANCE OF NAVY

Navy is an independent limb of the state. Just as a king's fame for success on land is in proportion to the strength of his cavalry, so the mastery of the sea is in the hands of him who possesses the navy. Therefore a navy should necessarily be built.

#### ITS CONSTRUCTION AND STRENGTH

Fast *gurabs*<sup>1</sup> (गुरब), neither very great nor very small should be built and should be of middle size. Similarly *galabats*<sup>2</sup> (गलबत) should be built. It is not necessary to build them very large ones (वारसे जागीता?) as these are not useful without the help of wind. Even if one or two are made to create dread in the enemy, still whatever naval force is created should be fully and well equipped (सदुते?) with brave and efficient fighters, guns, short guns, matchlocks, ammunition, grenades and other material of naval use.

#### ITS ORGANIZATION

Each of them should be arranged in separate units. Every unit should contain five *gurabs* and fifteen *galabats*. Over all of them there should be one head governor or admiral (सरसुभा). All should

<sup>1</sup> Large deep sea vessels.

<sup>2</sup> Large row boats built like the *gurabs* but of smaller dimensions.



obey him. For the expenses of the navy the revenue of a particular territory should be apportioned. Commerce will be ruined if the expenses are defrayed out of the income derived from ports, and merchants will be troubled. Harbours should be well protected, otherwise in cases of need necessary and useful things could not be brought from foreign places. If this happens then what remains of the prestige of the kingdom? There would be a loss of customs duties and other income. Owing to loot and destruction of the poor there would be an increase of unlimited sin. There would be an uncontrolled behaviour of naval servants. Therefore if the expenses of the navy be paid from the revenues of the state, such unrestrained acts would not take place. If it be objected that the state cannot bear always such heavy expenses of the navy, then the naval force should be maintained in proportion to what it can bear. Trade should be increased. Trade will cause the growth of the income of customs. A large fleet should not be made to depend on it. In this way a fleet should be gradually built up, naval forces should check the enemy by always moving in the sea, *सोमाजवादा* (?) of the sea-fort should be regularly given. No complaint of the officer of the sea-fort should be allowed to reach the king. By keeping oneself always informed of the movements of the sea-foes the territory of the enemy should be looted. By keeping watch efforts should be made to secure the places of the enemy.

#### POLICY TOWARDS MERCHANT SHIPS

In the sea *tarandi*,<sup>1</sup> ships of kolis<sup>2</sup> and merchants should be protected and allowed to move. Kolis and merchants should not be troubled. If any one gives them any trouble it should be warded off. If the ships of foreign merchants, besides those of the enemy, not possessing permits are coming and going, then they should not be allowed to move without inspection. By taking them under control, by using conciliation and intimidation, without touching any of their goods and by giving them an assurance of safety they should be brought to the port. In many ways naval authorities and territorial authorities should conciliate them. They should be allowed to take what wood and water they want to take. It should be made easy for them to purchase

<sup>1</sup> A sailing vessel of large dimensions.

<sup>2</sup> Fishermen class.

tender cocoanuts and other things which they want. Besides this they should be allowed freely to sell and to purchase what they desire, after taking from them a little by way of customs duty. If there is a great merchant he should be treated a little more hospitably according to his importance on behalf of the government (Dewan). The expenses incurred should be taken from the revenue office as an item of expenditure. An effort should be made to see that the foreign merchant feels assured in every way and attracted and enters into commercial intercourse with the kingdom. If any merchant ships coming from the hostile territory are found in the sea they should be captured by making great efforts, brought to the ports and without causing the goods the least damage everything should be attached, and the officers of the Mahal and the naval officers should inform the king about the matter and should act according to his orders.

#### NAVAL FIGHT

If the navy and the hostile ships meet each other and begin fighting all should strive to join in the fight. The enemy should be put on the leeseide (दुर्भानी) and be fought against. Owing to the force of the wind if the enemy does not fall on the leeseide and we fall on the leeseide and our ship is not able to move with the help of the wind, then, whatever may be our strength, without coming into contact with the enemy and gradually cutting off our contact from the enemy, our fleet should be brought under the protection of a sea-fort. The safety of ships and sailors should never be risked. Whilst protecting ourselves the enemy should be captured. If the enemy by falling on the leeseide succumbs and is exhausted, still no rash attack should be attempted. By surrounding him on all sides he should be fired at from shipguns. A treacherous enemy knowing that he is exhausted takes perfidiously under a false pretext a promise of safety. Therefore he should not be called near. He disables the ships by firing on his own पायाळ (?) or on that of those which are called near. Therefore without putting trust in him, even if he seeks a promise of safety, it should be given from a distance, and then his great officers should be brought in his own great boats near our own ships. Then our men should be made to go on his ships. Otherwise without caring for the goods and by breaking the ships under gun-fire dread should be created amongst the enemy.

## THE SHELTERING OF NAVAL SHIPS

If the sheltering of the ships is to be done it should be done a week or two before the rising of storms. That also should never be done in the same port or under the protection of any sea-fort or in the open sea. If sheltering is done every year at one and the same port, the men of the fleet, however often warned, are sure to give a great deal of trouble to the same part of the country. This must be avoided. This should not be allowed to happen. If the sheltering is done in the open sea then for the very sake of sheltering the ships have to be drawn out on the shore. Consequently the sheltering being on the shore, and the enemy being perfidious, he would stealthily and secretly cause fire by sudden surprise. This should not be allowed to happen. The sheltering should be done only in fortified ports. Still it is possible that men of the fleet who are many and who are generally Muhammadans and arrogant, would, getting into some discussion, get into quarrel and cause injuries amongst themselves. Sometimes in secretly fixed places treachery may take place without one's knowledge. This is not desirable. For these reasons the sheltering of the navy should be done every year in a different port which has got a fort facing the sea. On account of the fear of the fort the enemy would not enter the creek of the sea. Or if the creek is near, the sheltering of the fleet should be done inside the creek. Then also the whole fleet should not be kept in one place. The fleet should be distributed in various places. In the night patrolling both by creek and by land should be done round about the fleet. The subhedar while staying there with his family for two months should look after the arrangement of the fleet. He should write to the central government for getting the necessary things and should make arrangements for the same. Disorder should not at all be allowed to take place in the territory. For ships of the navy are necessary planks, beams, masts and such other logs of wood. With royal permission useful parts of teak and other trees which are in the forests of the kingdom should be cut and collected. Besides this, whatever is necessary should be purchased and brought from foreign territories. Wood of mango tree, jack tree, and other trees growing in one's own kingdom is useful for binding naval ships but they should not be touched. For these trees are not grown in a year or two. People have grown these trees by looking after them as after their children and by protecting